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VOL. IX.—NO. 10.

NEW YORK, JUNE 4, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

MAY-DAY.

Address Delivered by J. Mahlon Barnes,
Puritan Hall, Boston, April 30, '99.

Comrades and Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen of Boston:—I greet you and congratulate you upon the fact that this is the largest audience ever assembled in your city under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party to celebrate the International May Day. Know ye, comrades, that this meeting is but a link joined to thousands of others in cities, hamlets, villages and towns, making a chain that reaches around the world, bringing the proletariat into union of hope, of aspiration and of common noble purpose: the abolition of the System of Capitalism.

Though but ten brief years have passed since the establishment of this feast by the International Congress of the workers in Paris, we point with pride and satisfaction to the fact that a militant army, larger than any crusade, infinitely larger in the given period of formation than any world movement ever witnessed. To-night its millions march under the universal banner of the Socialist Labor Party. Fullest yet would be our gatherings unless we pause and take from the experience of the past some guide for our onward march of the morrow. Therefore we ask your attention for the consideration of some of the struggles or efforts on the part of the workers in the past.

The trades unions, or craft associations, opposing infant force against infant capitalism, first demand our attention. To grant them credit due, let us remember that, with infant capitalism, larger numbers of small bosses were engaged in the same business in a given locality: Smith, Jones and Brown, as shoe manufacturers, by concert of effort among the workers easily could be, and frequently were, played once against the other to the benefit of the workers. Smith's men would strike; Jones and Brown would employ them, and steal Smith's trade. But with the better organization of capital and higher concentration of industry, the turning point came, and this by-play of capitalists against capitalists passed away, and shall be known no more forever. When Smith, Jones and Brown clasp hands (commercially) across the city, across the State, from nation-border to nation-border, and then around the world, the blind alone would fail to see a changed condition, demanding a new policy on the part of the class of the proletariat. No further in illustration need we go but point out the trend of capitalism in three months of the year, 1899: Industrial combinations have been formed, capitalized at double the value of all those established during the whole year of 1898. Trade unions existing now must be judged by their policies and tactics. By their works ye shall know them. They are potent or impotent, useful or useless, beneficial or mischievous as revealed by the touchstone of their purposes and accomplishments. Slogans or mottos of craft organizations in the youthful days of this century are interesting.

First, masons:—"Fair profit to the boss; fair treatment to the men."

Second, plasterers:—"The welfare of the master, the interest of his men."

Third, wheel-wrights:—"Prosperity of the employer and employee."

Fourth, Liverpool cigarmakers, 1835:—"Fidelity to employers, and unity among men."

"'Tis strange, 'tis passing strange, the purposes here set forth in the light of the great world-wide revolutionary movement, now on to the death of exploitation, industrial tyranny and capitalism."

But, say you, these are antiquated mottos of trade unions. Well, then, by all means, let us have some up-to-date, from J. B. Lennon, Treasurer of the "Great A. F. of L.," and endorsed by Frank K. Foster, representing the tuckmakers of Boston:

"The interests of employers and employees are identical." (Sic)

Again, the slogan of every pure and simple trade union to-day is: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

I want to make a suggestion of a motto or two to the pure and simple leaders; and I hope they will be approved of, for I opine they would be more direct, to the purpose, quite as logical, and with more rhythm; so that, if used as a battle cry, they would sound better in chorus, to wit: "A little foolishness for some little fools"; or "A little moonshine for some little moonkeys."

We must remember, whatever of solidarity there appears in trade unions to-day is due entirely to the influence of Socialism; for craft organizations remained local craft organizations with all their narrow-mindedness, jealousies, craft prejudices and suspicion of the rest of the world of Labor until the flash-light of the economies of Karl Marx made us feel the common pulse-throb, by his: "WORKMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"

Assembled here to-night, we enjoy the high privilege of citizenship. How is it that we are so singularly blessed against all the races and generations, during all the ages past? Why do we vote? Let us answer briefly: "A concession from capitalism for the benefit of capitalism, with the rising industrial power of capitalism."

Capitalism was first confronted by the opposition of political power, yet in the hands of the feudal barons, or



the landed aristocracy. Not then, as now, was the elector's choice recorded in secret by means of the paper ballot; but voice-vote prevailed: "Jaines, announced his vote for Jordan at the hustings," and it was so publicly recorded. Under these conditions, meek capitalism, confronted by the necessity of controlling political power for its class, began to say the prettiest things imaginable about "Brotherly Love," and "Equality before the Law," and "Equal Responsibilities in Citizenship for the Working Class." The Bible was brought forth to assist their claim; and every tender chord was touched. Capitalism sat greedy-eyed behind its false pretence, its profession of philanthropy and brotherly love. Knowing full well that when their workers would have a vote, the workers would vote for their employer or his representative, or would not be given work. Thereby the capitalist, employing ten newly made voters, counted for eleven votes; and the capitalist employing one hundred men counted one hundred and one votes,—all in favor of the capitalist's political supremacy, and against the political power and supremacy of the landed aristocracy. Even as by chattel slaves in the South, was the owner's vote increased in like manner. The wage slave made political power for his master. Have we not well paid the debt to capitalism for our franchise? We have enthroned the capitalists in power. From the White House down to the Constable in your backstreet, by our votes they handle the dynamite cannon, the Gatling gun, the thug's repeating-rifle and the policeman's club!

Why we vote we have seen; revealed also is the horrible fact that we vote for murderous blood-stained capitalism now with the secret ballot. The all-important question is, Why do we not vote as workmen for our class? Who tells you not to bother your little head about politics? Who charges you with being union-wreckers? If you speak of united political action by the working class, who charges you to leave political power in the hands of your masters? Who forbids you discuss politics in your trades unions?—The Labor Leader, the Fakir, the Traitor! They, drawing salaries from the workers, receive political preferment and place from your enemy, the capitalist. Honest and true we know are many thousands of our rank and file in trades unions. Against these we raise no voice of condemnation, but we do on the fakir and traitor, on whose brow the mark of Cain appears more plainly every day wherever he appears. If there be no Socialist to-day to scourge him, there will be one to-morrow, and three the next day to proclaim his villainy. Under such leadership the pure and simple unions go into back-door politics, to wit, with bowed head and cringing limb: "Please, Mr. Political Boss, be kind and do something for us, your voting cattle." Results: An eight-hour law is passed by Congress during General Grant's second term, more than twenty-five years ago, and yet it is not enforced! Why? Because the Government was halted by reason of a misplaced comma in the printed bill, and the Government, therefore, CANNOT FULLY COMPREHEND THE PURPOSE OF THE ACT! !

Just think, a misplaced comma, the slip of some printer's devil, or some devil of an eight-hour law for twenty-five years, while capitalist

measures outraging every sense of reason on their very faces, crucifying grammar, with or without any punctuation marks are strictly enforced, to the greater glory of great capitalism!

Ten years of time and labor and much money was expended by the miners of Indiana to get a Check-Weigh law. It took the Supreme Court ten minutes to declare it unconstitutional!

Fourteen years the cigarmakers of the country labored to get a law in New York State to abolish tenement house work. In six months after its enactment, upon the first trial of the law, the Supreme Court informed the cigarmakers that those fourteen years were filled with love's labor lost.

In Pennsylvania, ten years ago, a law was passed abolishing company or pluck-me-stores; so flagrant did their operations become that, in 1897, a bill was presented to Governor Hastings, Republican, for the purpose of taxing them; he promptly vetoed it on the ground that there was a law upon the statutes expressly forbidding the existence of such institutions within the confines of the State of Pennsylvania. Governor Pattison, Democrat, and Governor Hastings, by the non-enforcement of this law, have proved their hostile attitude towards labor, have from the time of taking the oath of office perjured themselves with every breath they drew. Yet we find labor skates in the mine workers' and steel workers' and printers' unions giving both of them a certificate of good character, and on the stump proclaiming how each of these Governors loves labor!—Jobs—jobs—are by this gentry required, whether from the workers or the capitalists!

Do you remember the Industrial Commission bill, prayed for by all trades-union-Democrat-and-Republican fakirs; a bill properly characterized by THE PEOPLE as the "Fakirs' Pension bill"? At the last A. F. of L. convention their chagrin was displayed, and because there were not enough pensions or places granted to the fakirs, a resolution was passed deploring the fact that President McKinley did not see fit to appoint a larger number of real, true blue honest labor representatives on that Commission.

The City Council ordinance of Syracuse, N. Y., for the employment of union labor only, became inoperative.

Last week, Denver's Eight-hour law was knocked unconstitutional; back-door politics is the real thing—is it?

These out-workings, coupled with a fact I hope you will bear in mind, that TO-DAY THE PRODUCER RECEIVES AS WAGES A SMALLER PROPORTION OF THE VALUE HE CREATES THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, characterize the pure and simple trade union movement under fakir leadership as a FLIGHT rather than a FIGHT before the onslaught of economically and politically entrenched capitalism.

Remember also that trade, under capitalist competition, gravitates to the source of cheapest supply. Trade unions with their "fair day's wage" notwithstanding, that explains why New England textile mills go South, and why so many erstwhile Boston cigarmakers are sojourners in Philadelphia, and why many others of that craft, heretofore well paid in other localities, are now separated from home ties and their families, and disporting themselves in the cheapest of

cheap Pennsylvania diets designated by us as "The Klondike."

On a delicate subject now I desire to speak with you. While caring nothing particularly for the unenviable position I am placed in, I am really sorry that such a large number of good people as compose this large audience should find themselves by reason of my presence under the ban of the "Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 of Boston." They sent me a registered letter to Philadelphia, hoping thereby, I presume, to keep me away from, filling this engagement. Let me tell you, I have received other letters before for the purpose of keeping silent on this great class struggle. Some of them from smarter people, who, by failing to sign their names, concealed the hand that upheld capitalism. I take it however THAT THE HEAD GEAR AMOUNTS TO NOTHING, THE STAMP OF THE HOOF AND THE ROAR OF THE CAPITALIST DEVIL IS ABOUT THE SAME THE WORLD ROUND. This is the letter:

"Boston, Mass., April 27, 1899.
"J. Mahlon Barnes, Esq.
"Dear Sir:—At a regular meeting of the Executive Board of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 97 I was directed to inform you that the tickets for your lecture in the City of Boston bear a spurious or imitation label of the Allied Printing Trades' label.
"Fraternally,
"HENRY ABRAHAM, Sec'y.

A "spurious label"? Who set themselves up to judge it spurious? "Imitation of Allied Printing Trades"? NO. I see distinctly the ARM AND HAMMER on this label, that stands for the uncompromising revolutionary movement of the Socialist Labor Party, for the complete overthrow of capitalism. I judge it not "spurious." You need not hunt around for Barnes' position, you will find him in the economic and political movement represented by this ARM AND HAMMER, that strikes capitalism and its henchmen everywhere. Sam Gompers might call it spurious, but I would call this symbol were on the Allied Printing Trades' label, they might be charged with fighting capitalism, and it would be idle to say so. Let us see whom this Executive Board are trying to "protect."

In 1894, when that great wave of sentiment over-spread the organized workers' realm and a majority of the rank and file favored by vote "Plunk ten," the collective ownership and control of the means of production and distribution (out of which they were robbed by Isacariot leaders), the great Typographical Union only wanted the land; and since then, by reason of the machines, Typographical Union No. 6 of New York, known as "Big Six," took the matter literally and solved the labor question by sending its unemployed artist members to a farm on Long Island to grow sweet pickles and cross-eyed potatoes. "Big Six" helped to fight capitalism in an other manner not to be overlooked while touching this class struggle. Whitelaw Reid, for years in season and out of season, with boast and brag, made merry war upon the printers' union. But in time it came to pass that he was to stand before his countrymen as a candidate for Vice-President. Now was the printers' chance. Great preparation was made. Slugs of discontent would

rain upon such a candidate; old rules were brightened up and every printer had a gleaming dagger in his boot and one in each eye. When Mr. Reid whistled, then sang a little tune ("I love you union, boys")—a conference—and then so far as "Big Six" cared, we hadn't as fine a labor candidate for years! Again these pure and simple organizations, as before mentioned, stand for "fair day's work," for "a fair day's pay," which correctly interpreted means: "You may rob us, Mr. Capitalist, but rob us in decency, and according to our rules; and, if you use this label, you may not only rob us, but we will try and get you as many more to rob as we can and will even fight those Socialist workmen; who deny you the right to rob?" Some of the phrases we have touched upon to-night we hope will be pondered over and bring us to a clearer view of our duty, and a stronger purpose for its performance.

There are but two positions that can be occupied; one on the capitalist side, the other on the Socialist side. We earnestly invite those not yet numbered with the Socialist to enroll at once. Into no infant movement ask we you to enlist; but for strength of numbers; firmness of purpose; clearness of issue; and constant world-wide growth it is unequalled and unrivaled. Two million votes in Germany; one million seven hundred thousand in France; hundreds of thousands in Belgium and Austria; its tens of thousands in America and elsewhere, tell of the legions coming and coming fast to the point of victory, and position of conquerors. From the great North land where from the watch towers the midnight sun is seen from the most southern South American Republic, from old Japan and late arriving Puerto Rico, the song of the Sons of Toil echo and reverberate: "Man shall be free." And by this mighty international chorus, and by the sacrifice and struggles of its true sons everywhere, we know that the earth and the fullness thereof shall belong to, and be enjoyed in happiness and peace, by those who alone produce it all.

The S. L. P. vote in Roanoke, Va., at the municipal elections just held is: Greenwood, for Treasurer, head of the ticket, 110 votes; this is 32 votes more than at the last election.

For Council, Welch, 1st Ward, received 50 votes; Boon, 2d Ward, 15; Tate, 3d Ward, 39; and Goodman, 4th Ward, 49.

A Jokester sends us this under the head of "Meditations by William Rockefeller":

"The Socialist Labor Party is growing slow, but sure. It is moving like a high stone wall, driving before it the rats and driving them into the sea."

Section Stockton, Cal., participated in the local election held there on May 9, and polled an average of 220 votes out of a total of 3,400. This was an increase of sixty per cent. in six months.

Remit by money-order, registered letter, check or, when the amount is small, by two or one-cent stamps. Do not send cash in ordinary letters! Why run any risks?

PENNA.'S VOICE.

The S. L. P. State Convention's Important Acts.

Ticket and Resolutions.

THE TICKET:
For State Treasurer: SAMUEL CLARK.
For Judge of Supreme Court: DONALD L. MUNRO.
For Judge of Superior Court: VAL REMMEL.

ALTOONA, Pa., May 28.—The S. L. P. State Convention of Pennsylvania met yesterday at Carpenter's Hall and adjourned to-day, after three enthusiastic sessions.

There were present 35 delegates, representing 27 Sections and Branches in the State, several of which were organized through the recent S. T. & L. A. agitation.

John Root, of Pittsburg, was temporary Chairman. The convention went into permanent organization with H. C. Parker as Chairman, and Val Remmel Secretary.

Besides nominating the ticket above given, the convention adopted the following resolutions on Party tactics, principles and discipline:

ON THE S. T. & L. A.

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated by the stirring events that have transpired on the industrial field during the past year that the organization known as the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is of the greatest assistance to the Socialist Labor Party in the propagation of militant, scientific Socialism; and

WHEREAS, It has also been demonstrated that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is the only bona fide labor organization that can secure any benefits for the workers under the Capitalist System, whilst opening to them the pathway to their emancipation from wage slavery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania, in Convention assembled this 27th day of May, 1899, do re-indorse the wisdom and action of the Socialist Labor Party's National Convention of 1896 in its endorsement of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania use its utmost endeavors to organize the workers of this State under the banner of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

ON CONTROVERSY RAISED BY "VOLKSZEITUNG."

WHEREAS, The Socialist Labor Party is at the present time hampered in its most effective work in the propagation of class-conscious Socialism and the economic organization of the workers in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance by the opposition tactics of one H. Stahl, a member of the National Executive Committee; and

WHEREAS, Said Stahl has taken, in conjunction with the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," an unscientific stand on the tax question, thereby confusing, clouding and compromising the Socialist Movement of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania do, on this 27th day of May, condemn the attitude and action of said H. Stahl, and recommend his removal from the National Executive Committee as soon as possible, by the usual method.

ON PARTY ORGANS.

RESOLVED, That this Convention again, and with emphasis and greatest pleasure, pronounce our unqualified approval of the unwavering course in the tactics and policy of our Party's national organs, THE PEOPLE and the "Vorwaerts."

VAL REMMEL, Secretary.

ROANOKE.

ROANOKE, Va., May 23.—We are in the midst of a municipal campaign in which we have a full ticket, and are spreading tons of literature.

Now, then, Comrades Welch, Peters, Tate and Goodman are members of the Central Trade and Labor Council as delegates from their respective unions. At the meetings of this body we endeavored by every fair means and open arguments to draw the members out in a friendly discussion of municipal affairs. But they would have none of it (politics not allowed). Nevertheless, by the dead weight of the majority they decided to put a so-called "labor ticket" in the field. Its purpose is to weaken our vote, on the one hand, and to divide the workers on the other, in order that the regular Democratic nominees may slip in. My comrades and I were present in the G. T. & L. C. when their nominee Mayo accepted their nomination and took the floor to ask for instructions, saying in substance this: "Gentlemen, I rise to ask for information in regard to my position in this campaign. I am not a politician, know nothing about politics, but ask what I stand for, what policy, what principle, under what obligations am I to this body; what promises am I to make, am I free, or am I bound by any rules or regulations." The Chair-

(Continued on page 2.)

